1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

Naturally, all the villages are now on the coast, and a road made by the Tongans, following the shore, serves them all. Each village has its passage through the reef, some fit for large cutters, some only for canoes at high tide. The passage most in use, though narrow and difficult, is Nandawa, opposite Tumbou.

The whole population in Lakemba (about one thousand) resides in compact villages. Tumbou, the chief village, where reside the chief and his family, lies on the west bank of the Nakula stream and has a population of about 180. On the other bank is the small village of Levuka. Between Levuka and Wathiwathi, among the rocks of the southern promontory, is the site of an extinct village, Tarukua, the survivors of which are in Wathiwathi. Beyond Wathiwathi, begin the mangrove swamps and between them and the irrigated lands is Waitambu. A long gap stretches between this village and the site of Narothake, a former village, the inhabitants of which are in Nukunuku. At Nukunuku, the shore shelves very gradually to the reef, which here lies farthest removed from the island—a distance of ten miles. The distant anchorage is known as Tawaveiwekani (No-relation) because the way is so long that strangers staying in the village neglect to send a share of the feast to those of their party who are looking after their canoes.

The village of Yandrana ranks next Tumbou in size. Nasangalau is third largest, but the second in rank. Near it rises Vangandra, a precipitous rock, jutting out from the hills, on the top of which is the site of the oldest settlement recorded in Lakemban history. The anchorage of Wangatalata (Wanggatalatha), about two miles from Tumbou, was important in the olden days.

The villages other than Tumbou and Levuka form what is known as the "Country," Lauandoko, as opposed to the "Town." If the term Lauandoko is not a corruption, it means "the digging pole strikes," and probably expresses the fact that the Country plants for the nobles in the Town. I have also once heard these villages described as the "Back of Lakemba," but one informant limits this term to the villages on the north coast from Nasangalau to Nukunuku.

Tumbou is the center of culture, manners, and politics. (See Pl. II, *D*.) Villagers coming to Tumbou feel ill at ease, for though no longer compelled to go about Tumbou with folded arms, they are expected to be humble and are conspicuous by their lack of assurance.

Differences in type and character exist between the villages. (See Pl. I.) "Villages differ in the men," says a native, Tui Wathiwathi, "it may have something to do with the soil; some places have soil productive of strong men (*nggele tamata kaukaua*). Doubtless it is the will of God."

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

624 fishing must be obtained from the master fisherman. The request is accom-
226 panied by the ceremonial presentation of kava and is made by representatives from one or more specific clans. The master fisherman receives part of the catch, usually the two largest fish, unless these are tribute fish which must be presented to the chief. The wife or the daughter of the master fisherman leads women's communal fishing expeditions. In recent years the authority of the master fisherman has been breaking down. There is less organized fishing than there was in the past.

624 The professional title of carpenter (*matai*) is held by the headmen of
335 hereditary carpenter clans belonging to either the chief's carpenters or the *lemaki* carpenters.

The following is a tale told of the *lemaki* carpenters:

> The son of the first Lemaki in Lau accompanied Niumataiwalu, the chief of Lakemba, to Ono. One day the people of Ono decided to kill the chief. Lemaki went fishing with the throw net (*tuka*) reputed to have been introduced into Lau by Lemaki. He had a small adz with him for killing large fish. He saw the people running after the chief, so he fought his way to the chief and tried to protect him. The Ono people killed the son of Lemaki and afterward they killed Niumataiwalu. To compensate for this deed the *lemaki* carpenter group was given special privileges and a piece of land called Lekutu (Bush) near Tumbou, Lakemba.

The headman of the *lemaki* carpenter clan does not use the special chiefly vocabulary (p. 64) or the chiefly greeting (*tama*) to the chief. He may intercede (*sorovakina*) with the chief on behalf of a village or an individual, and he may eat food and drink kava in the presence of the chief.

624 Each island chief has a priest. Formerly, as mediator for the clan and its
793 ancestral forefathers and as a seer, the priest served to validate and sanctify the power of the chief. The priest was highly respected and feared. He received a large share of the first fruit offerings, which were presented to the ancestor god (*kalou vu*). The headman of a priest clan usually holds the title of *mbete*. This is largely honorary today, except on Mothe where the priest installs the chief.

624 The *mata ki Lakemba* (face toward Lakemba, envoy to Lakemba) is a
644 hereditary clan title found in every island group. He is the intermedial agent for the island group and the high chief at Lakemba. His duties are to deliver and present tribute to the high chief and to receive him or his representatives when they visit the island. In the latter capacity he is the leader of the reception and presentation ceremonies. The title descends from a man to his younger brother or to his son—except on Mothe, where it is hereditary in the Nggali clan—and the bearer is chosen by the clan elders.

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622 Some villages have a village chief. The chief of Nggalinggali is chosen from either Nanggara or Naivotavota clan. The present chief of Nggalinggali is from Nanggara. The title of chief of Tokalau was, until recently, held by the Matandravu subclan of the Vuanitavola clan. Tareasi Thiva was the last

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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15. Makumbu-: Grandchild. The converse of *tuka-* (13) and *tumbu-* (14). Great grandchild is designated as *makumbu- vakarua* (second grandchild), etc. Step-relatives are designated by the term *vakathambethambe*, i.e., *tama- vakathambethambe* (step-father); *tchina- vakathambethambe* (step-mother).

184 Informants say that kinship terms in southern Lau, in the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group differ slightly. It is reported that the Tongan system of making no distinction between parallel and cross cousins of opposite sexes is found on Vanua Mbalavu.

Behavior between Relatives

cross cousins

605 *Veiwatchini* is a collective term for cross cousins of opposite sexes. All of a man's female cross cousins and all of a woman's male cross cousins are preferred mates designated by the term *watchi*. The term for spouse is also *watchi*. The Mbauan term, *ndavola*, is an alternate term for a cross cousin of the opposite sex. It is used in southern Lau to show respect.

605 521 522 A familiar relationship exists between *veiwatchini*. There are no tabus between them. They address one another by name and use the familiar second person singular pronoun, *ko iko*. They talk freely with one another, which means that they joke with one another about sex, for practically all conversation between non-tabu members of opposite sexes and much of the conversation between non-tabu members of the same sex, centers around sex. Jokes usually consist of obscene remarks. Such remarks are tabu between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

605 836 837 There is no tabu on sexual intercourse between cross cousins, and, in spite of the ideals of premarital chastity for girls and of strict monogamy, there is considerable freedom between classificatory cross cousins both before and after marriage. In order to avoid gossip and marital jealousy, an affair with a cross cousin is kept secret. One does not often hear of sexual intercourse between relatives whose relationship involves avoidance.

593 837 Behavior patterns between a man and his wife do not differ greatly from those between cross cousins of opposite sexes. However, occasionally when a man is angry he beats his wife, but he does not beat a female cross cousin who is not his wife. Excessive cruelty toward one's spouse is rare and is talked about in the village. The people of Tokalau talked about a man whom they said had injured his wife's back by beating her. If a man scolds or beats his wife repeatedly she will run to her father's house. Then the people will talk about the husband. If he wants her back he presents a whale's tooth or other property to her relatives. Domestic quarrels and separations are not common. The discovery of adultery on the part of one's spouse usually causes only temporary friction. Fidelity to one's spouse is not really expected.

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The husband is the head of the household and his wife obeys him. Unless a person of higher rank is present, he is served first at meals and receives the best portions of food. A wife often uses the polite term *turanga* (headman) in referring to her husband or her husband's older brother.

BROTHERS, SISTERS, AND PARALLEL COUSINS

Veiwekani is the collective term for brothers and sisters, and parallel cousins of opposite sexes. In contrast to the freedom between cross cousins, a strict avoidance exists between *veiwekani*. They are *veitambui* (tabu). On Kambara intercourse of any sort is tabu between them. They avoid meeting. A man does not enter a house where his sister is except in case of necessity. He does not look at her, but lowers his eyes. If necessary he communicates with her through a third person. A woman is permitted to cook food for her brother, and a man may help to prepare the earth oven in which food for his sister is steamed. Brothers and sisters eat the evening meal with the rest of the household in the same kitchen, but they may not eat from the same plate, nor may one eat what the other has left. They are not allowed to wear each other's kilts, and a woman may not wash her brother's clothes. A man may use mats his sister has made.

Up to the age of seven or eight brother and sister sleep in the same house, but then avoidance begins and the brother moves into a men's house belonging to his clan or into the house of a relative, while his sister usually remains in the house of the parents. After a boy has been circumcised the tabus are strictly enforced.

A man's father's older brother's daughter is the most tabu and the most respected of all his *weka*. The tabu is usually more strict between first parallel cousins than between brother and sister.

The brother-sister tabu is still upheld on Kambara, although not so strictly as in the past. Today *veiwekani* sometimes converse secretly, but to do so is considered foolish (*lialia*) because the couple loses face in the village. A case of evasion of the brother-sister tabu came to my attention in Tokalau.

> A young man, aged 22, of Mbete subclan of the Vuanikathu clan had just started to build a house of his own although he had been married almost two years. He slept with his wife and child in the crowded house of his parents. Four of his sisters—aged 20, 19, 18, and 14—slept in the same house, and he talked to them. His sisters never started a conversation with him, but they answered him. Several times, when the brother and sisters were alone, the questions and answers developed into a conversation. His behavior was criticised but he was somewhat excused because he was considered slightly deficient mentally, for otherwise he would not behave so.

There is some interisland variation in the brother-sister tabu. On Fulanga it is not so strict as on Kambara. Sexual intercourse, sleeping in the same house, and eating off the same plate are tabu, but eating together is allowed and a girl may eat the food left by a younger brother or by a junior male

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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cousin (that is by a male cousin, one of whose parents is a younger sibling of one of her parents). A girl may wash her brother's kilts. Brother and sister may sit in the same house, but when his sister is present a man "talks through a flower", that is, he avoids the usual obscene banter. If a man in the group starts to joke the brother gets up and walks out of the house. If a woman starts to joke the sister leaves immediately. Brother and sister may not take a walk together. They may take a trip on the same canoe, but if there is joking they do not participate. They are ashamed (*mandua*) and lower their eyes, and the girl moves to the other end of the canoe. Brother and sister may talk together but they do so in the polite (*vakarokoroko*) manner. They may address each other by personal name. In general the girl shows greater respect for the boy than he does for her. It is difficult (*ndrendre*) for her to speak to him. Some boys use the familiar second person singular, *ko iko*, to their sisters, but girls always use the formal second person plural, *kemundrau*.

There are also differences in the observation of the tabu by individuals on the same island. On Fulanga one man calls his real sister by her name but not his female parallel cousin. Some individuals "follow the Tongan way" and converse with less restraint.

While in Lau, I heard of only one infringement of the brother-sister incest tabu. This occurred on Moala, according to informants. The man and the woman were imprisoned by the colonial government. Informants agree that in olden days the offenders would have been exiled from the island.

Natives admit their greatest sexual desires to be centered on their tabu sisters and parallel cousins, and they think it is for this reason that the tabu exists. There is no doubt that the tabu heightens sexual interest.

Veitathini is the collective term for brothers, sisters, and parallel cousins. Strict rules of precedence based on seniority are observed between *veitathini*. A man ranks below his elder brother and the son of his father's elder brother. To these relatives he shows respect and deference. He may address them by their personal names but he must use the formal second person plural (*kemundrau*) and speak in the ceremonial manner. Greatest respect is shown to the oldest brother, who is called "first eater" (*kana i manda*). A younger brother is called "eater who follows" (*kana i muri*). Formerly the elder brother ate before the younger brother but today brothers may eat together. The oldest brother sits in a place of honor near the father and receives his food before his brothers. Next to the oldest sits the second brother, then the third, and so on. Younger brothers must clap with palms cupped (*thombo*) to show respect when the oldest finishes drinking kava or eating at a feast. A younger brother is not allowed to eat food left by his elder brother. A younger brother runs errands and secures a brand to light his elder brother's tobacco. After the younger brother has been circumcised it is his duty to prepare food and kava

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604 606 618 land people the *vasu* did not exist, but that the mother's brother's clan prepared and assembled property for the sister's son. They then notified the sister's son, who came and took the property, which was called his share (*vakalutulutu*). This suggests that the formal presentation of property between the mother's brother and the sister's son is old in Lau. The idea of seizure of [177] property may be intrusive from Tonga where it is a part of the *faha* (*vasu*) institution. (Gifford, 9, pp. 22-23.)

SOCIAL CEREMONIAL

554 576 Social life in Lau conforms to strict rules of etiquette based on rank. The same pattern of behavior, with variations in degree of elaboration according to rank, is used down the whole social scale. Each individual observes the main rules of the polite (*vakarokoroko*) etiquette toward persons, whether related or not, of higher rank or toward persons who stand in the avoidance [867 558] relationship. The rules are learned by children before the age of seven or eight, and infringement of them causes a loss of social prestige.

The fine points of chiefly etiquette are known only by high ranking persons who have at some time been members of the chief's court at Tumbou, where social life is most highly formalized.

554 576 613 198 In the presence of the high chief one behaves in the polite manner. No one is allowed to stand erect. Persons of low rank sit before him cross-legged with bowed heads. They often tremble with excitement. They are ashamed and look down at the ground. They crouch or bend low when he passes. Persons of low rank rarely speak in the presence of the chief. Respect is shown by silence. Joking is forbidden. A special phraseology, called polite speech (*vosa vakarokoroko*) is used in the chief's presence. This phraseology is in the Mbauan dialect and consists mainly of metaphors employed instead of the usual terms for parts of the body, actions, property, and personal rela- [184] tionship. Polite speech is used mainly on Lakemba. It is rarely heard in southern Lau and few natives know it. (Hocart, 15, pp. 46-49.)

The chiefly greeting (*tama*) consists of the exclamation, "O . . . . oa!" All [689] chiefly ceremonial is in the polite speech. Formerly infringement of chiefly etiquette in the presence of the chief was punished by clubbing or death, depending upon the rank of the chief and upon the offense. A simplified form of chiefly etiquette is used in the presence of minor chiefs and relatives who stand in the respect relationship.

554 576 Guests visiting a man's house observe definite rules of etiquette. No one except the owner is allowed to sit on the foundation mound or the door sill of the house. The interior of the house is divided into three parts. The lower end of the house (*sue*), extending from the main entrance (*katumba i sue* or *katumba kumba i ra*) to the first supporting posts, is public. The middle of the house (*mbuto ni vale*), the main section between the supporting posts, is

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343 of a *taiwaiwai* woman among the fishers. The woman must not cut her hair lest her strength be sapped. After one hundred days the woman is no longer a source of danger, and is in a state called *kunekune*. Her hair is cut for the first time since she has become pregnant, she bathes in the sea, and takes part in the communal net fishing for the feast which is provided by the relatives of the expectant couple. After fishing, the pregnant woman is rubbed with oil and dressed in her best kilt.

[184] On Fulanga no ceremony is held at the beginning of a first pregnancy, but the *i vaka votu ni ngone* is held after the first one hundred days of the first pregnancy of a married woman. It marks the woman's change of status to *kunekune*. The *vaka votu* ceremonies are held only for a woman's first pregnancy to mark the conception of her *ulu matua* (first-born), but the tabus are observed for all pregnancies.

Both parents observe certain tabus throughout the pregnancy to protect the foetus from harm and insure its growth. They abstain from eating any kind of fish which has been cut into pieces before being cooked, lest the child be born with a disease called *manaka na ika tava*. They must also abstain from eating the following sea foods: *vethu, kai ndawa, tuvu, lailai vai, yalewa matua, ndambe, ulumburu*, and *lolo* (sea eel) lest the foetus be injured.

CHILDBIRTH [5]

344 On the day of birth and for two or three days after birth the mother and child are visited by relatives from the mother's and father's clans. The relatives bring small gifts of roasted ripe coconuts and mats, tapa, or oil. The gifts are presented without ceremony and are received by the paternal grandmother. They are kept by the child's parents.

For at least four nights after the birth a group of five to ten female relatives from both the father's and the mother's sides sleep in the house with the mother and child. This group is called the *songone* or *tonitoni*. When Makarete of Saumua clan, Tokalau, gave birth to a child, the *songone* consisted of the child's maternal grandmother, the maternal aunt, the paternal grandfather's sister, the paternal granduncle's daughter, the paternal aunt, and the paternal uncle's daughter. The child's father must feed the *songone* which stays from four to ten nights depending on his resources.

345 On the fourth day after birth a ceremony called *i silisili ndrawu* or *vakambongiva* is held. The young mother bathes in the sea for the first time since the birth. She is accompanied by her own mother or other near relatives. The *songone* go fishing to secure sea food for a small feast provided for them by the father. On this day the midwife, if she is not a close relative, is presented with property such as tapa or mats. The tapa in which the newborn infant was wrapped at birth is removed for the first time, and the child is

[5] For details concerning childbirth in Lau, see 23, pp. 27-32.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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given a steam bath in the house. In a special oblong wooden bathing bowl (*kumete ni silisili*) are placed cut *waro* leaves. A hot stone is put on the leaves and the infant is held over the steam by one of the *songone*. When the leaves cease to give forth steam, the child is washed in water. This bath is to clean and heal the navel. No men are allowed in the house during the process.

The most important birth feast is the *i mburua ni ngone*, which is usually held on the first or second day after the birth of any child. It may, however, be held on any day up to the tenth. This feast for a first-born, whether boy or girl, is larger and more elaborate than that for a subsequent child. The earth ovens of the father's and the mother's clans are used, but for subsequent children only the oven of the father's clan. If the family is prominent, the birth feast is large and attended by the whole village, if not the feast is attended by near relatives only. The birth feast of a child born out of wedlock is small. It is provided and attended by the mother's clan only.

Twins are desirable in Lau. Twin boys are called *ndrua tamata*; twin girls, *ndrua alewa*.

If a child is stillborn (*suthu mate*) the body is kept near the mother for three or four nights, for it would be harmful to the mother to take it away sooner. She would grieve and become ill with a sickness called *tandoka*, characterized by fainting, body pains, and sleeplessness. Stillbirths are buried in the cemetery above a previous burial from the same clan. The destiny of the souls of stillbirths is not clear to the natives. If both mother and child die they are wrapped in one funeral bundle and buried in the same grave. Their souls go to Nai Thimbathimba (p. 114). In miscarriage the foetus is kept two nights and then buried in the cemetery without ceremony.

When the child is born the father moves out of the house and sleeps in a men's house belonging to his clan until the child is weaned. Sexual intercourse with his wife is tabu during this period, but the father frequently has clandestine affairs with the women of the village who do not stand in the tabu relationship with him.

Feces of the infant are wrapped in tapa and kept in an excrement basket (*kato nda*) which hangs on the wall of the house where the child lives. This is done because they are a part of the child and removing them would cause the child to have diarrhea. For the first child the basket must be kept 100 days, after which the father throws it over the reef into the sea. The spot where it sinks is marked with a tabu stick. Nobody may fish there until the ceremony, called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, is held when the child is one year old. If the father erects a tabu stick he is obliged to give a big feast when the tabu is lifted. The feast adds to his prestige and to that of the child. If the parents cannot provide food for a big feast, they simply throw the basket into the sea without declaring a tabu. The excrement basket for a subsequent offspring need be kept only until the child shows he is gaining strength, usually two

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or three months. It is discarded in the sea without a tabu. This custom of *kato nda* which is common on Fulanga is not found on all the islands.

A feast called *mangitchi ni ona singa*, which is held when the first-born is one year old, is not held for subsequent children. If the child's parents are prominent this is a large feast, marked by an affinal exchange of property. The child is bathed in the sea for the first time on this day. The ceremony is divided into two parts, the "bathing" and the "drying" rites. The bathing rites (*mangitchi ni sili ki wai levu*) are held on the beach by the women of the mother's clan. The mother's older sister, who is in charge, collects property (*i suai ni sili*) from the mother's clan, bathes the child or chooses another woman to do so, and distributes the portion of the *singa* feast which is eaten by the women on the beach. The father's older sister, who has charge of the drying rites, collects property (*vaka mamatha*) from the father's clan. Parents of the child receive no share of this property which is ceremonially exchanged and divided between the relatives.

On Namuka the first part of the ceremony (*i silisili ki wai levu*) is held when the child is about four months old and the second part (*mangitchi ni ona singa*) is held on his first birthday.

Another important ceremony for the first-born is the *mangitchi ni kana mbaletchi*. It may be held at any time within the first year. On Fulanga this feast is held on the third day after birth. Formerly when the child was of a prominent family, this feast was attended by the whole village. Today it is a clan feast only. The clan members gather in the house of the oldest living male relative in the child's clan. The child is presented to the clan elder by his paternal grandmother, if she is living, or by his father's or his mother's sister. The elder sits on the mat with the child on his lap and food or kava is placed before him. He reaches over the child for food or for a drink and brings it to his mouth. Before the elder eats over the child, no one may do so, not even the child's mother, but afterward anyone may. A small feast is held by the relatives and property is presented to the elder by the child's parents.

In high ranking families a small household feast, called feast of the first tooth (*mangitchi ni vaka votu ni mbatchi*), is held for the first child's first tooth. When the child begins to crawl another small feast, called feast of the little old man (*mangitchi ni nggasinggasi*), is held. The last two feasts are rarely observed in southern Lau.

A small household feast called *mangitchi ni papi* or *mangitchi ni mbaptiso* is held for every child at baptism into the mission church.

BOYS' PUBERTY

During my residence in Lau no boys' initiation ceremonies were held. The following information was obtained from natives on Kambara, Namuka, Mothe, and Fulanga.

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presentation of a gift of atonement (*i soro*). The gift might be whales' teeth, land, or a woman.

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The following war tale was told by Moto of Undu:

The Undu people were at war with Tokalau and Lomatchi. The strongest man from Lomatchi, called Tute, was leading the Tokalau and Lomatchi men. The Undu people said, "If you who are related to us spear us, why not also spear the Tokalau people?" Then Tute turned and speared the strongest of the Tokalau men. Before he speared him he said, "Taipioloa" (I am going to be your enemy). All the rest of the men from Tokalau ran away.

RELIGION

CULT OF THE LAND PEOPLE

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There was a marked difference between the beliefs and practices of the land people and the chiefs' group in Lau. The land people retained their beliefs and individuality in spite of the dominance of the immigrants.

The most detailed information regarding the beliefs of the land people was obtained on Kambara. The land people of Kambara formerly believed they originated from the *ngingia* tree. They were the fruit of the *ngingia (vua ni ngingia)* and it was their forefather (*vu*). When the missionaries came they made fun of the land people for believing they were the fruit of the *ngingia* tree because this tree bears no fruit, but the land people insisted they were the fruit or offspring of the tree. Natives say there is only one *ngingia* tree on Kambara. The tree is called by the title Vu (Forefather). It grows near the beach north of Undu, the stronghold of the land people. It is kept free of underbrush and the men of Undu still offer ceremonial food and kava there in times of distress. The rite was last performed a few years ago when a severe drought threatened the island food supply.

Mosesi, a very old informant who was born on the recently deserted island of Wangava, said that the Wangava land people, who are closely related to the Kambara land people, originated in the *ngingia* tree just as the Kambarans did.

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The forefather of the Kambara land people is incarnated in the red shark (*nggio ndamundamu*). It is the *wanggawangga ni vu* (canoe or vessel of the forefather). The red shark is the guardian of the land people. Its title is Tui Natakala or Ratu. A member of this group may not kill, harm, or eat it. The red shark is still propitiated by the land people with offerings on the beach or on a canoe at sea and its appearance is considered a good omen.

The red rooster (*toa kula*) is the emblem of the Kambara land people, and it symbolizes power and strength. Its title is Kula. Formerly the land people were forbidden to kill or eat it.

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The following information regarding the origin of the land people was obtained on other islands visited.

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day and by adults on dark nights. Mango trees are especially molested by trespassers.

On Fulanga each clan owns two trees, a *tarai* and a *mbau*, located in the bush. These trees are called *mbilita* (that is, *mbilita ni matanggali Vunikoro-mbilita* of the Vunikoro clan, etc.), and each has a name. They belong exclusively to the proprietary clan and only members of that clan are allowed to pick the fruit. The names of the *tarai* trees belonging to the clans of Muanaithake village are: Tarainanga of Vunikoro; Ulumburu of Rasea; Luvenimbumbu of Vandravandra; Kawakawaloa of Nasava; and Taraimbalavu of Sau. The ground around the *mbilita* is kept free of bush and weeds. A stone circle is built around the *mbau mbilita* and the *mbau* fruits are picked green, thrown into the enclosure, covered with leaves, and allowed to ripen. A ditch, called *ovaova*, is dug around the trunk of the *tarai mbilita* but the fruit is allowed to ripen on the tree. According to the natives, the *mbilita* custom came about in the following way. In olden days when a man found a good *mbau* or *tarai* tree, he cleared the ground around the trunk and the tree became the *mbilita* of his clan or of his household. Today there are no *mbilita* belonging to households. I did not find the *mbilita* custom on other islands. The Kambarans had never heard of it.

Fishing rights are village property. The lagoons of an island are divided by the adjacent villages, and for inhabitants of one village to use the ground of another village without permission means loss of prestige. Fishponds and equipment used in village communal fishing are village property.

Water holes and communally built reservoirs, located in the village, are owned by the village and used by its inhabitants. Water holes located in the bush are usually free. There is a dispute regarding the ownership of Wai Mariko, a fresh water hole near Tokalau, which is claimed by two clans, Vuanitavola and Vuanikathu. The village cemetery belongs to the village but each clan has a lot in it.

Moveable Property

I yau is a native classification of property which may be defined as moveable property. The natives are not quite sure just what the term includes. When they speak of *i yau* they think mainly of craft goods such as mats, tapa, woodwork, coconut oil, sennit, and canoes. They say whales' teeth are also *i yau* but usually mention them separately. Pigs, fowl, turtles, and food (*kakana*) are also classed as *i yau* but the natives are not sure whether houses should be included.

The most valuable objects in Lau are whales' teeth. They serve as a means by which wealth may be accumulated, condensed, stored, and exchanged. The value of other objects cannot be expressed in terms of whales' teeth, thus they

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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without a plow and draught animal, more systematic hoeing and weeding with adequate tools and the use of manure would improve the crops. However, even such small changes cannot be brought about without a systematic program of education. Since the natives have a strong abhorrence against the use of manure as fertilizer, because they regard it as unclean, either its effect would have to be demonstrated so convincingly as to win converts, or mineral fertilizer would have to be imported. Improved methods of gardening would have to be taught and demonstrated by the village school teacher to the school children. This would be easy for a trained teacher since one of the duties of the children is to compensate the teacher for his time by helping him with his garden.

The problem of the preservation of food against scarcity is not easy to meet in a community where in the first place food is scarce, and in the second place the system of soliciting deprives an industrious man of any hard-earned surplus he may accumulate. Just as the whole economic system works against the accumulation of wealth, so also it discourages the preservation of food, and tends toward the hand-to-mouth existence we find in southern Lau. There are, however, two possibilities in the native system which might be used to encourage the storing of food. One is the custom of presenting the first fruits of the harvest to the chief, and the other is the inter-island ceremonial exchange.

The headman of a clan of the lower class on each island holds a hereditary title (*vaka vanua*) which I have called "chief of crops." Formerly his duty was to impose a tabu regularly on each of the main crops of the island as they matured. He did not raise the tabu until each crop was fully ripe, when the "first fruits" were presented in the form of a cooked feast to the chief, and eaten by the whole island or the village. The "chief of crops" is still an important personage in Lau, but only on the island of Mothe does he perform this function regularly. Each time an offering of "first fruits" is

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the men. This is due to an unequal division of labor between the sexes—since the women no longer produce these craft articles in quantity—and to an unbalanced sex ratio, since the females outnumber the males. Increased production of women's craft articles, by keeping the women from idly sitting about the kitchen houses and gossiping a great deal of the time, would strengthen the morale of the whole community. Under the present organization this could be accomplished by stimulating inter-island communal exchange, which would mean heavier demands upon the women of each clan. Young girls should be encouraged to learn the complicated technic of barkcloth making, and the few women who are specialists in the finest stenciled type (called *ngatu vaka Vitchi*) should be urged to teach their art and to encourage originality in their pupils. The organization of the barkcloth craft into guilds, as on Namuka, Mothe, and Lakemba, should be encouraged on other islands where the paper mulberry is available, such as Kambara.

The women of Namuka are famed throughout Fiji for their barkcloth. They are organized into a barkcloth makers' guild headed by Apikale, wife of Anitelu, the *mbuli Kambara.* She receives orders for barkcloth to be exported, especially to the island of Lakemba, in exchange for other trade articles, and she regulates the work and the output. The guild members are divided into three groups which work together, one for old women, one for middle-aged women, and one for young women. All three groups use the guild barkcloth makers' workhouse on the edge of the village for the parts of the process requiring communal labor.

Most important of all, however, in building up native economy is not only to remove all restrictions, but actively to stimulate inter-island trade based upon the supplementary natural resources and specialized industries of the islands of limestone and those of volcanic formation. The *solevu* type of ceremonial exchange between villages located on islands

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174 people with ceremonial presentations of tribute, formal dances,[35] and kava[36] drinking customs with carefully prescribed rituals and precedence.[37] He had one chief wife and many secondary wives.[38] At his death some of these were strangled.[39] The chiefly ceremonial pattern was duplicated less ostentatiously for other members of the group, depending on rank and wealth.

The ranking system was interrelated with a hierarchy of sib ancestor gods called kalou vu. At the top of the hierarchy stood Ndaunisai and his ancestors. The position of each god was determined by his mana, expressed by success in warfare while on earth and by success of his living descendants. In other words, his rank was determined by his pre-mortem and post-mortem prestige.

The stress on rank and its supplement in ancestor worship threw the emphasis in religion from the spiritual "high god" concept of the early inhabitants to the sib ancestor gods of the newcomers.[40] However, although the newcomers worshipped their ancestral gods as sib dieties, the descendants of the early inhabitants retained their sib gods as well as their sib units.

The ancestor god of each sib was embodied in a species of animal or plant which was sacred to the sib. Although much knowledge of sib totems has been lost, at least half of the thirty-seven sibs studied possessed three totems: a species of fish, a species of bird, and a species of tree. The totems were propitiated with ceremonial offerings of food and kava. Each species had a title and its generic name was tabu to members of other sibs in the presence of the owners. The Vuanikathu sib on Kambara, which traces its genealogy ten generations directly to Ndaunisai, owns the mavinda[41] tree, the ongo fish, and the kaisevou bird.[42] Even today the mavinda trees of

[35] Called meke, especially war dances for men and sitting dances for women.

[36] Yanggona (*Piper methysticum* Forst.).

[37] According to the so-called Fijian custom, which is characterized by great formality, hand clapping, and kava meke singing. The old men told Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, p. 141) that the true Fijian mode was characterized by the grating of the root on a piece of fine coral.

[38] Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 32–33) states that the chief had from ten to fifty or one hundred wives.

[39] As described by informants, by Wilkes (*op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 98–100), and by Williams (*op. cit.*, Vol. 1, pp. 189, 200–201).

[40] The interest of the early population, expressed in their mystical outlook on life and religious ritual, was focused on the inner content of life, while that of the immigrants, expressed in the rank system, ancestor worship, and social ceremonial, was focused on outer form. Even today the land people are less restricted in daily life by formalities and jealousy than the chief group. They seem to be more modest and liberal and to have more sense of humor than members of the chief group.

[41] *Erythrospermum polyandrum* Oliver.

[42] Information concerning the Vuanikathu sib totems was obtained from the sib headman. It is tabu for other members of the sib to discuss them.

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type.[184] The intrusion consisted of one movement (probably extending over a relatively short period of time) and was carried by a group of immigrants from the west, who settled permanently in Lau. The process of adaptation of the two cultures was relatively undisturbed for several generations. The organization pattern of the immigrants gradually affected nearly every phase of the indigenous culture and in time the typical Lauan configuration emerged. The two cultures were sufficiently similar so that a fusion, based on common traits, could take place and sufficiently different so that the result was a new configuration. With the blending of the intrusive culture with the indigenous one, the essential outlines of Lauan culture were set.

The next strong influence in Lauan culture came from Tonga in the east. Tongan elements were introduced into Lau by individuals or by small groups of traders, carpenters, adventurers, and warriors, many of whom later returned to Tonga. The two cultures, namely, the strongly Polynesianized Lauan and the adjacent Polynesian Tongan, were of the same general type, and the result of contact was an elaboration of the social ceremonial and technology of Lau. Tongan influence was checked by European penetration before it had been thoroughly assimilated; it affected the outer form but not the inner constellation of Lauan culture.

The last great intrusion of exotic elements into Lau, namely European civilization, was brought by missionaries, political officers, and traders. Contact with such a totally dissimilar culture weakened the inner structure of the Lauan configuration. For this the new religion was especially responsible. Changes appeared first in the religious, then the social, and finally the economic life. The cultural equilibrium was seriously disturbed but a breakdown was averted by the sudden isolation of the islands resulting from a change in economic conditions in Europe and America. This forced the natives back to economic independence and allowed the culture time for readjustment toward the creation of a new balance.

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[184] Hocart (Man, No. 43, 1915) states that the island of Viti Levu may be divided by a natural barrier of mountains into two culture areas, the western and the eastern. In the western area he found a culture which he briefly characterizes by the following traits: simple social organization, petty chiefs, the Nanga secret society, the square house, the favorite number 5, and barkcloth made in the interior by men. This culture he calls Low Fijian. In the eastern area he found what he calls the High Fijian culture. It is characterized by elaborate social organization, great sacred chiefs, the oblong house, the favorite number 4, barkcloth made by women on the coast, and canoes. This two-fold, geographical picture of the culture of Viti Levu corresponds in general to the historical picture of the first two periods in Lau.

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in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details see Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

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The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *vaka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

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In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

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When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

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754 Jonetani having earned princely fees (for a short time) by walking about and feeling "by a peculiar sensation of warmth to his feet" where charms had been buried under the houses of sick people —he having placed them there beforehand.

Lastly, there is the potable antidote, called either *vakadranu* or *vakasili*, which, if administered by one skilled in such magic, inevitably drives the *vakadraudrau* away.

It is only right that, as long as the superstition still remains among the people, transactions in magic of any kind should be dealt with in the criminal courts, as among a primitive people even the idea that some one might have *vakadraudrau'd* them may be enough to cause death by auto-suggestion. In fact, that is the most natural explanation of most of the deaths that have occurred. A man has probably been suffering from some mild illness, he gets the idea of *vakadraudrau* into his head (which his relatives do not by any means try to dispel), and it so preys upon him that he gives up "the wish to live," and turns his face to the wall and dies. For this [683] reason people when convicted of these practices were, and still are, severely dealt with, even the milder law of to-day allowing a sentence of six months and twenty-four lashes.

754 Now, all the instances I have mentioned above ● 184 occurred in northern Lau (in other words, those

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islands of the Lau group that are essentially "Fijianized" by conquest in ancient days by the fierce and swarthy semi-Papuan tribes from Cakaudrove—a section of Fiji). Among the fairer-skinned Polynesians, who people the rest of Lau, the practice was never carried on. And this again gives a very good example of the cast-iron bonds of "custom" among the South Sea races. All follow exactly the ways of their fathers; even in the gigantic upheaval of European civilization they only assimilated certain new European customs and ideas; but they seldom or never exchanged or appropriated the ideas of other South Seas peoples. Thus, among a confessedly superstitious race we practically never find *vakadraudrau* south of Lakeba Island; while the *Tuka* practices (another sort of magic, from the interior of Great Fiji) have never taken the slightest hold among the Lauans, though Lau was always the selected place to which the Government deported most of the professors of that cult; in fact, the last batch, exiled for five years, are still scattered through the different islands of the archipelago.

The general superstition of the people is very well shown by the Polynesian custom of *Yalovaki*, or soul-catching, which was a trial by ordeal, and largely practised in central Lau, and now superseded by *Regui Vola*. It is said that